

The South African Outlook

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The South African Outlook

Nothing is so strange as Time. Time brings growth towards a goal. Times transforms the child into a man. Time buries tyrants.

Toyohiko Kagawa.

* * * *

The Jubilee of Union.

There has certainly been no lack of effort or expense towards making a popular success of the celebrations marking the lapse of fifty years since the four states of South Africa surrendered their separate sovereignties to come together into Union. Those who have worked so hard and patriotically in recent months to make a success of the various ceremonies, displays, pageants, and competitive events deserve the thanks and congratulations of the whole country.

But even at the height of the festivities it was very difficult, even impossible, for loyal South Africans either to evade the wry reflection that the actual story of this jubilee year thus far had been the reverse of jubilant, or to forget that to very many this date 1960 will speak of loss and tragedy whenever they think of it. Have we not been compelled to ask ourselves whether our national achievement, in this light, has really merited so much congratulation, at any rate in the most significant and nation-testing of all spheres, that of living together? In other and more material directions we have rightly been grateful for some remarkable progress, in spite of (though in some respects at least, because of) our costly efforts to do our part in two terrible wars in which our liberty and that of other peoples was at stake, as well as, on a lesser scale, cooperating with the free nations in a third. But real union we have not achieved, and all too many of us who are old enough to have shared in the optimistic ardours of 1910 are compelled to feel that we

have most seriously and culpably lost ground in what matters most. Perhaps the most valuable fruit of this jubilee year will be that these distressing events—the riots and murders; the submersion of ordinary democratic freedoms under the necessary declaration of a state of emergency; the questioning throughout the world of the political decency of our Government's fundamental ideas, and so on—that these things have forced so many to their knees before God.

* * * *

At such a time.

Jollifications could hardly fail to seem incongruous to intelligently ardent South Africans at a time when the main trend of our official policies had secured for us the opprobrium of the rest of the world. The fact that this sentiment had been cultivated artificially in some quarters, and often on a basis of inadequate and incorrect information deriving from sources delighted to make South Africa a whipping-boy for the better hiding of their own murky social evils, does not absolve us. Nor does it help much indignantly to present impressive figures—as we certainly can—about all the benefits enjoyed by the poorer and more backward non-European masses because they live under our *baasskap*. That is necessary for the forming of any true judgement, but it does not clean our slate. So the call to penitence and prayer has had a strong appeal and evoked a widespread response. South Africa's celebration has not by any means been only in the 'tumult and the shouting' of the official programme. Many have sought to humble themselves before God and to learn His way for us. Such sincere but inconspicuous dedication has seemed to them to be the one way likely to ensure that when our diamond jubilee comes along in 1970 we may humbly and gratefully find real reason for rejoicing over our progress in the sphere in which we have hitherto so regrettably lost ground.

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Dr. Edgar Brookes' Proposals.

A Plan to transform the Union Day celebrations from the sombre event they would otherwise be for many people to an occasion of relief and hope, was put forward by Prof. the Hon. Edgar H. Brookes, President of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

He appealed to the Government and people of South Africa to make it possible for Union Day to be a truly joyful day. This would involve these steps:

"First of all, May 31 should dawn to see the Emer-

gency already officially at an end. The sooner the better. Let us keep the Golden Jubilee of the Union in an atmosphere of freedom and hope, and not in the tense atmosphere of an Emergency.

"Secondly let all detainees, without exception, be released; again the sooner the better—tomorrow, if the Government will do it, but in any case not later than May 31. Let the high treason case, which has lingered on for so many years, be abandoned. Let us start with a clean sheet.

"Let the Government announce the holding of a National Convention as soon as possible after May 31, 1960, to complete its labours before May 31, 1961. While it is at work, let the ban against the Non-European political organisations be withdrawn, provided that their leaders will undertake during the sittings of the National Convention not to use methods of direct action.

"The national convention should represent all schools of thought. Recognised Non-European leaders should sit on it as well as leaders of both European groups. Like the original National Convention, its sessions should be private, with no minutes kept, no admission of the Press, no divulging of the discussions. When it ended, there should be an agreed programme for immediate action.

"This plan would give us that consultation between responsible leaders of the races without which any sensible man can see that the Union is doomed to a long 'cold war' which may flame up into a hot war at any time, on some intolerable provocation," Professor Brookes said.

"Surely no one seriously thinks that the Union can be permanently governed under a system of martial law in time of peace, or that either side could have a hundred per cent. of its own way without civil war or something very like it.

* * * *

An Anthem of 1910.

From Grahamstown has come an interesting reminder that for the celebrations in that city at the formation of the Union a possible national anthem for the new state was sung. The tune was composed at very short notice by the then Director of the Training College School of Music, Mr. Percy Ould, and the words were by that sensitive and not inconsiderable South African poet, Mr. Francis Ernsley Walrond. There were three stanzas, as follows:—

"Mighty Lord of nations
We, Thy youngest born,
After toil and travail,
After feuds outworn,
Stand at last one people

Face the splendid morn,
Give us faith, O Lord.

Grant the task before us;
Ours to do and dare,
Lay the lines to progress;
'Stablish, build, prepare
For the sons who follow,
Make our country fair.
Give us strength, O Lord.

Lord, for truth and justice
Make us strong to fight;
Yet we pray Thy purpose
Need no battle-night.
Lead us, Lord of progress
In the ways of light.
Give us peace, O Lord.

These are sincere and dignified lines, and have the merit of being free from the rather unworthy idolatry of country which mars so many national songs, our own not excepted.

* * * *

Mr. Greatheart of Japan.

So the call has come for one of the most vivid and many-sided figures in the long Christian story, and Toyokiko Kagawa has gone forward to higher service. He died in Tokio on the twenty third of April in his seventy second year, after a life more amazing than any writer of adventure fiction would be likely to imagine. His life was just plain miracle and the most convincing evidence imaginable for the reality of the Christian faith.

We can do little more here than hail his passing. Later it may be possible to dwell at greater length upon his romantic story and its message for the world. It is probable that a flood of literature will appear about him as social reformer and writer. At bottom he was a man who from boyhood, when he accepted Christ at the age of fifteen, really took his commital to Him seriously and held nothing back. He went all the way with Christ and the result was that his personality was dynamic with spiritual power and unquenchable, undiscourageable love. His success as a writer arresting and individual, was great and helped to finance much of the work he set on foot. His first book, *Across the Death Line* which grew out of his slum work in Kobe when he was little more than twenty years old, went through Japan like a fire, and the verses inspired by the birth of his first child, in which he welcomed the boy to a life of poverty and privation, struck a new note in the poetry of his country. Fame, responsible office, and immersion in the labour movement all came to him, but to the end he remained loyal to his discipleship in

simplicity and the unfailing giving of himself, after the pattern of his Lord.

"In the depths of my soul" he wrote once, "I am daily conscious of the miracle of creation. The miracle of the resurrection becomes not a matter of yesterday, but takes place today in this soul of mine."

* * * *

Commerce and Industry take a hand.

The most promising phenomenon on our sombre national horizon in recent weeks has been the emergence from the wings on to the stage of various national organisations and leaders connected with commerce and industry. These bodies are not wont to be seekers of the limelight. They deal competently with their own affairs, being composed of tried executives who have won their positions in stern and testing fields. They know what is really going on in their various spheres of business and their considered opinions are to be disregarded by any government at its peril, for they are the people who keep the wheels turning in the country's progress. With an impressive unanimity they have come to the conclusion that we are steering towards economic calamity and that the country and the nation must be warned.

Notable among the statements made public has been that issued last month by the Council of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. This seems to us to be a document of quite first-rate significance and it may be read elsewhere in this number. It does not stand alone. Industry in a number of centres has been making similar pronouncements. In Cape Town the two Chambers—of Commerce and of Industry—made a joint statement a week earlier. The national body in connection with industry, the African Federated Chamber of Industry had a frank interview with five members of the Cabinet and found them attentive. These men are concerned with realities rather than with theories, with facts and figures rather than with policies, and they are calling for a re-investigation of many of our ways which are currently accepted as satisfactory. They are specifying such things as African wages, consultation with African leaders, the Pass laws, influx control, land ownership by Africans, and so on. Other organisations are also in on this effort, such as the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa, and the Transvaal and Orange Free State Chamber of Mines. It is most significant that these various and powerful bodies have agreed that the time has come for them to make their voice widely heard.

* * * *

What answer?

The first reaction from authority, as seen in a statement sent by the Prime Minister to Parliament before it

closed, was disappointing. Little realistic appreciation of the real situation was disclosed. The general impression was, "We carry on." The need for an increase in African wages is admitted, but it seems to say no more than that present policies are right and are going to go on, intensified if necessary, with more about Bantu 'authorities' and more effective police action—"in other words," as one of our dailies put it, "the mixture as before, with the addition of a dash of alcohol, designed to minimise the necessity for liquor raids."

But that can hardly be the final answer.

* * * *

Exeunt—cum laude.

The legislation forced through during the last session of Parliament to secure the abolishment of the seats for representatives of the African people, is felt by many people to be sadly misguided in that it creates the wholly undemocratic situation that the vast majority of the people of South Africa are thereby deprived of any representation in the House of Assembly. It is also regretted because it will result in the serious impoverishment in statesmanship and ability of a House that can ill afford it. It is generally admitted by thoughtful people that those who have held these seats since they were first introduced in the legislation of 1936 have performed their difficult task with distinction and a high sincerity. They have deserved well of their constituents and of the State.

One of these now defunct constituencies, (as they will be by the first of July) has been represented since it came into existence by the same member, Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, who has been returned to it at each succeeding election. She now leaves the scene where she has enriched Parliament with her consistent excellence as a speaker and acute debater, her wide-ranging and aptly applied knowledge of human history, her steadfast challenge to the enemies of her constituents, and her great courage. Our Parliament is not an easy sphere for a woman, especially when in opposition, as Mrs. Ballinger has been compelled to be, and she has had to put up with a good deal of contumely little known to the public. But sustained by the repeated reassurance that she has held the trust of her otherwise voiceless constituents, she has done a great job. To them she is 'Nosizwe' (the mother of the peoples) and they have never found her to fail them in opposing the injustice inherent in all measures having a background of segregation. She may well have got her conception of loyalty from her father, a Scot who made his home in the old Orange Free State and fought for his adopted country against his homeland in the Boer War, spending a year or two in internment on the island of St. Helena.

It is good to know that an offer has been made to her

of a year at Oxford to give her the opportunity to work on a book she is contemplating on the subject of her experience as a representative of Africans in a white parliament. That will be something to look forward to, for sympathisers and opponents alike.

* * *

"Ne supra crepidam sutor judicaret."

Dr. Smit rightly voiced the disturbed anxiety of Christian people when he called attention recently in the House of Assembly to an extraordinary letter sent in March to the churches in South Africa by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. That our readers may judge for themselves whether the epithet we have applied to this egregious document is exaggerated or not, we quote some of its paragraphs.

"It has come to the Department's notice that certain churches engaged in missionary work among the Bantu, whose administration has till recently been controlled almost exclusively by Europeans, have of late been entrusting to their Bantu ministers greater executive responsibilities in the conduct in the affairs of the church. In some instances all barriers, which had prevented the election and appointment of a Bantu as head of the Church, have been removed.

"The Department has followed this development with interest because, firstly, in general it accords with the Government's policy of preparing the Bantu eventually to take over the administration of their own affairs and, secondly, on account of the diversity in method of the churches engaged in missionary work.

"But it is conceivable and, in fact, appears almost inevitable that, unless certain precautionary measures are taken, Bantu bishops or even Bantu ministers will be placed in a position of authority over European ministers, missionaries or employees of the church, such as staff attached to mission hospitals.

"In the circumstances I shall be glad if you will kindly tell me whether Bantu ministers of your congregation share in its administration, and, if so, to what extent. Further, whether the position mentioned in the previous paragraph has, in respect of your church, arisen or is likely to arise, and whether in this connection any reorganization has been made or is contemplated."

Little comment need be added, save, perhaps, to express astonishment that this Department has not found enough trouble for itself already from interfering in matters of the churches' teaching and government that it can try to foist on them a discrimination which is abhorrent.

* * *

"The Native Question"—as seen in 1894.

The records of the Lovedale Literary Society in the last century tell, amongst other no less interesting happenings, of an occasion early in 1894 when a lecture

was given to it by the late W. C. Scully, then a young man, and later to be well-known as magistrate, poet and publicist. His subject was 'The Native Question', and in the course of his discussion of it he made some comparisons with the work of the Spaniards and Portuguese in South America. Sixty-six years have passed, but some of his paragraphs retain their interest today.

"Our experiment is on a larger scale than those in South America, but its ultimate success is by no means assured. We have a firm footing here, and we may retain that footing, but, on the other hand, we may easily lose it. Whether we do so or not lies with ourselves, but no condition is so dangerous as a feeling of blind security in the face of danger.

"Races, like individuals, decay under unfavourable conditions and some developing conditions in South Africa show a decidedly unfavourable tendency as regards Europeans.

"Our measure of success in dealing with the Native question depends largely upon the spirit in which we begin our work. If we want to succeed we must regard the Natives' welfare as our definite object—we must not try to work for our own ends alone. If we do, we shall surely fail.

"'Whoso loveth his life shall lose it.' Let this text be our motto in the crusade: it embodies a truth deeper than the depth of all the philosophies, wider than the mind of man has searched, save His mind that uttered it."

* * *

The children had fun!

The Commandant of Police at Roodepoort was faced with the problem of attracting the attention of the people in the Locations in an obviously peaceful manner when he had to go among them recently to warn the workers not to stay away from work, and to give them the assurance of police protection. He hit on the idea of using a skilled penny-whistler and took him along in his loud-speaker van in order to introduce his message with the disarming influence of what 'hath power to charm the savage breast.' But he found it rather embarrassing, for his performer got busy with his lilting dance music and very soon the children were round his van in their hundreds dancing to the well-known tunes, and the van was completely hemmed in. He solved his difficulty eventually by putting his musician down from the van, lining the children up in ranks and letting the whistler march up and down between them. From time to time he was stopped for a little and then the major and his loud-speaker would get the important warning across while the little dancers had an easy. The press message concludes "There were no incidents" but it fails to tell us whether the piper was 'pied.'

Constitution-Making for Democracy

An alternative to apartheid

D. V. Cowen

(Continued from the May number with acknowledgments to "Optima")

THE DELUSIONS OF APARTHEID

If *apartheid* could measure up to an ideal—which some have cherished—of fair territorial partition with real autonomy for each territory and full rights for each race, it is, in abstract theory, a solution which could be morally justified, calling for the greatest self-sacrifice, courage and impartiality.

But this postulates a *fair* partition; and I think that in South Africa such a partition would present insuperable obstacles. Where exactly should the boundaries be drawn? Can South Africa's economy sustain the disruption involved in a fair partition? Would there be full and free consultation and consent on the part of all groups in its planning? Have White South Africans the will to face up to the material sacrifice and cost which would necessarily be involved? How, to be specific, would the gold, diamond and other mines and natural wealth of the country be divided? And, if a fair share of these is not to be given to the non-Whites, will they not demand it when they grow in political organization and maturity? In short, unless the partition is genuinely fair, what real prospects are there for peaceful co-existence between the White and the non-White territories? And what prospects are there of getting the policy accepted by world opinion?

Formidable, however, as are the obstacles in the way of what some may cherish as an ideal—namely a genuinely fair partition—the objections to the actual policy of *apartheid* and to what we have hitherto seen of its implementation are graver still.

There are to-day some 5½ million Africans, that is between 50 per cent and 60 per cent of the entire African population, living and working in the proposed (but vaguely defined) White area.¹⁹ And, by the year 2000, according to the Tomlinson Commission, if the forces of integration are allowed to go on working, there will be upwards of 12 million Africans in the White area, the majority of whom will be in and near the towns. At the same time, on the Commission's own figures, even if *apartheid* policies are vigorously and uninterruptedly pursued on a more ambitious scale than the Government is, in fact, prepared to adopt, there will, by the year 2000, still be some 6 million Africans living and working in the White area. Of these 6 million, several million will be Westernized and completely de-tribalized, having

their real roots in the White area. In no sense could these persons, having lost their tribal roots, properly be described as migrant labourers with homes in some foreign country—yet they are to be denied all political rights in the White area.²⁰

Moreover, under the Government's apartheid legislation, even those Africans who live and work in the allocated Bantu areas or Bantustans (which comprise about 14 per cent of the total land area of the Union), are to be accorded remarkably tenuous rights. Indeed, notwithstanding the Government's claim that the object of the Bantu Authorities Act, 1951, is to restore the original Bantu democracy in the African reserves,²¹ the new system will not resemble the traditional pattern of government save in the most superficial way; on the contrary, it is plain that the Bantustans will be notably undemocratic.

The reasons for this are manifest. To begin with, even with the best will in the world, it is no longer possible to restore the conditions which enabled the traditional tribal system to operate in a responsible and moderate fashion. In the old days the main sanction against a tyrannical chief was for his men to leave him and offer their loyalty to another chief in return for the allocation of some of his land. In modern times, however, restrictions upon freedom of movement and a shortage of disposable land make it impossible for the old sanctions to operate.²² And, in any event, when one examines the actual provisions of the Bantu Authorities Act, it becomes apparent that the chief and his council are to be carefully insulated against the popular will, while being kept subordinate to the Minister of Native Affairs and his Government. Thus, the Act sweeps away the popular vote, which had previously been exercised in the African areas; and under the new dispensation the chiefs are to be assisted by councillors who, in the ironic words of the

¹⁹ The total population of the Union is approximately 15 million, of whom, roughly, 10 million are Africans (Bantu), 3 million are White or Europeans, 1½ million are persons of mixed blood, and ½ million are Asians.

²⁰ In this connection it is difficult to understand the suggestion that the Bantu in the White area would be compensated by having "an anchor" in the Bantustans. See the speech of the present Prime Minister, Hansard, May, 1958.

²¹ See, among the many statements to this effect, the Official Report of the Department of Native Affairs, 1954-57, p. 49.

²² See Ashton, *The Basuto*, p. 217.

Tomlinson Report, "will be appointed by the chief or headman himself and not, as under the old Local Council System, by popular vote. The idea is to foster strong progressive action by tribal authorities whose councillors should be able to act independently of a less progressive and probably dissatisfied electorate."²³ Again, the Minister of Native Affairs may, at any time, depose any chief or headman, and cancel the appointment of any councillor; a commissioner may veto the appointment of any person appointed as a councillor by a chief or headman; and the police are authorised to attend the deliberations of a council. It is, of course, true that under the traditional Bantu system councillors were not democratically elected; but, as we have seen, there existed restraints upon tyranny and caprice which are conspicuously absent from the new dispensation.

But most of these objections, and others of similar import, are familiar enough to thoughtful people in South Africa; they have been stated more than once, and there is no point in elaborating them further here. What does need stressing is that it is not a sufficient answer to *apartheid* to reveal the enormous human suffering, the deep inroads on liberty and human dignity, the unfairness, and the economic fatuity and wastefulness which the partial implementation of the policy has already entailed during twelve disquieting years of regulation and regimentation. The authors of the Tomlinson Report penetrated to the heart of the matter when they said that, where the existence of a people is felt to be at stake, purely rational and economic considerations play a relatively unimportant role.²⁴ It is, indeed, of the very essence of *apartheid* to give full scope and recognition to the dissevering forces of fear and prejudice, and to regard them as the decisive factors in South African race relations.

Let us pause to recapitulate as clearly as possible the nature of these fears and prejudices; for not only, in my view, are they the foundation of the whole edifice of *apartheid* and the secret of its appeal to many of its exponents, but (whether justifiably or unjustifiably) they are, in fact, shared in large measure by the majority of the White inhabitants of the settler areas of Africa. Indeed, as I see the position, no alternative to *apartheid* is likely to be acceptable to the great majority of White people, unless the fears and prejudices which have hitherto proved its mainspring are taken into account and effectively disarmed.

Now the upholders of *apartheid* argue broadly as follows. The non-Whites outnumber the Whites roughly by 4 to 1; their cultures are different, and were they allowed the same rights they would eventually swamp the Whites. This would lead either to Black

domination of the Whites, or to the gradual disappearance of the White race, as such, in a society of mixed blood. And in either event, so the argument runs, civilization as the Whites know it to-day would disappear. The Whites are, however, "unshakeably resolved to maintain their civilization undiluted," and "to preserve their existence as a separate entity." Therefore, if peace is to be kept, the races should be kept apart, and encouraged to go forward along their own lines of development on the basis of separate cultures and traditions.

This is the essence of the reasoning that led the Tomlinson Commission to choose *apartheid* as the solution for South Africa's racial problems. Thus, to quote the Commission: "In the absence of 'discrimination,' what would happen is that the foundations on which European civilization rests would vanish before the European himself disappeared. It is for this reason that the European population will not tolerate any conduct which may endanger the foundations on which its continued existence depends."²⁵ And, again: "That the European people will not be prepared willingly to sacrifice their right of existence as a separate national and racial entity, must be accepted as the dominant fact in the South African situation."²⁶

The argument outlined in the previous paragraphs is, of course, capable of elaboration and change of emphasis at several points. Sometimes the tensions and frustrations of an increasing African urban population are stressed. Sometimes the protection of White workers from "unfair" non-White competition is emphasized; and at other times prominence is given to the wish and determination of (at least) the Afrikaner section of the White community to safeguard their own distinctive identity, their language and way of life.²⁷

²³ Full Report, Chapter 17, para. 223. An even more naively undemocratic justification is given by the Department of Native Affairs itself. In its 1958 handbook, explaining the Bantu Authorities Act, at p. 18, it is said: "The Councillors will perform their task without fear or prejudice *because they are not elected by the majority of votes.*" My italics.

The presence of the electoral principle is one of the many features which distinguished the British Government's grant of constitutional advance to Basutoland from the Union Government's Bantustan plan.

²⁴ *Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas, 1955*; Chapter 25, paras 21 and 33.

²⁵ *Summary*, Ch. 4, para. 9.

²⁶ *Summary*, Ch. 25, para. 20.

²⁷ While support for *apartheid* is by no means confined to Afrikaners (or Afrikaans-speaking South Africans), there can be no doubt that there exists among Afrikaners a powerful *additional* incentive for supporting the policy which does not operate among English-speaking South Africans. The 1948 General Election marked the winning of political power by the Afrikaner section of the community; their political supremacy is now assured, and among many Afrikaners there is a fear that the extension of political rights to the non-Whites might enable the English-speaking section to jeopardise the Afrikaners' supremacy by soliciting the non-White vote.

The cumulative effect of arguments of this kind is powerful, as any realistic observer of human nature and the political scene in Africa and the United States of America well knows. Nor, in my view, can these arguments be sufficiently countered by revealing what appear to be their philosophical and ethical fallacies. The equation of whiteness with Western civilization, and the belief that the White man should remain the sole trustee and guardian of that civilization, are notions which any educated man may expose as unsound and potentially dangerous. But philosophical arguments and appeals to pure reason are not the stuff of which practical politics and the daily life of society are made.

It is not really helpful to remind an electorate of the Christian paradox that he who would save his life must lose it; and that White men who wish to live in Africa may have to lose their racial pride. It is, unfortunately, not enough to explain to a White electorate that what is needed is not absence of discrimination but more discriminating discrimination. It is not enough to point out that a discriminating man is universally admired precisely because he discriminates wisely between the intelligent and the stupid, between the beautiful and the ugly, and bases his judgment of people and things on individual merit. One is not likely to get very far in the heat and dust of politics by stating—what is so true—that the fundamental objection to colour discrimination is that it is indiscriminate and blunt-edged, working injustice to people who are as intelligent, good and worthy as any others, and coarsening the fibre of those who enforce the discrimination.

It is not sufficient, apparently, to remind an electorate, obsessed by the fear of miscegenation, that it does not follow that equal social, political and economic rights for both White and non-White peoples will inevitably

lead to miscegenation. Indeed, as Lincoln once observed in the course of his debates with Douglas, the number of mulattoes was proportionately greater in the slave than in the free states. Nor does it win White votes to point out that if, with the passage of time, a mixed society should come to be regarded as acceptable by our descendants, we to-day have neither right nor reason to interfere with their free choice. In short, the argument that if people wish to remain White they will, and that if they wish to mix there is no sufficient moral or genetic reason why they should not, while, in my view, sound and convincing enough, has hitherto proved to the majority of the Whites to be an irritant rather than a balm.²⁸

To criticize, to ridicule, even to demolish totally in rational argument, is not enough when once basic human fears and prejudices have been aroused: on the contrary, such a course may often merely confirm fear and harden prejudice. There is, in my view, only one remedy, and that is to offer a constructive alternative that is better than *apartheid*. And it may be accepted almost as an axiom that there is no hope of bringing about a peaceful change in current trends of policy, and no prospect for any peaceful alternative to *apartheid*, unless, in presenting the alternative, it is possible to convince the White man that the risks involved are, in fact, less than those of *apartheid*, and the possibilities of prosperity and security greater.

²⁸ Though there is a respectable body of opinion—including liberal opinion—which holds that a mixed race is probably the ultimate effect of progressive integration, anthropologists have shown that where people wish to retain their racial purity they can in fact do so—even without legal encouragement.

(To be continued)

Christian Education in a Non-Christian Environment

WHILE on leave in Britain recently I had the opportunity of attending the fourteenth annual teachers' conference of the Overseas Council of the Church of England Assembly, held at Lincoln Training College. The theme of its discussions was Christian education in a non-Christian environment.

The conference opened with an incisive talk on the social climate by the chairman, the Rev. John Drewett, editor of the *World Christian Digest*. He pointed out that the mental and spiritual climate in which we worked was fast becoming the same all over the world. The unprecedented spread of culture based on science and technology was leading to a universal conviction that

the problems of man could all be solved by man's own ingenuity. In the West the Church had had little success in bridging the gulf between traditional theology and modern science, which many of the world's population regarded as a new religion. The Church maintained, "Man cannot live by bread alone": in the poorer countries of the world, people were answering, "Let us have the bread first, and then we can judge whether bread is enough." In the richer countries, the Church still maintained, "More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of": people were answering, "Perhaps, but I'll stick to my tranquillizers, thank you."

The problem was affecting all religions, and there seemed to be little prospect of the social climate changing in the twentieth century. The chairman stressed that Christian education overseas should not seek to undermine other religious faiths, and so prepare the way for secularism.

Man's energies were devoted to material conquests. The Soviet Union aimed to outstrip the United States materially. Then what? The file on Purpose of Life remained at the bottom of the "Pending" tray. Perhaps man would have the leisure to turn again to spiritual adventure at the end of this phase, for already the inadequacy of materialism was appearing in the West, and basic insecurity, anxiety and aimlessness were becoming widespread. Sweden, a country with probably the highest standard of living in the world, also had one of the highest suicide rates. In Britain, about forty per cent of hospital beds were occupied by nervous cases and patients with some kind of mental disorder. The environment of Christian education, whether in Britain or overseas, could fairly be described as non-Christian.

There followed a lively discussion on psychiatric treatment and tranquillizers. Some teachers thought that modern medicine here showed God working through new means. Others thought shock treatment and drugs were half-measures, and no substitute for positive religious experience and prayer. Some speakers pointed out that Christianity was often divided against itself in meeting the challenge of the non-Christian environment, instancing the fierce rivalries in the mission field.

On the second day, the conference considered the work of the Christian teacher abroad. Miss Oliver, vice-Principal of Lincoln Training College, spoke on teaching in Iraq, describing her experiences in a Baghdad government school under the earlier regime. She said it was important for the Christian teacher abroad to develop positive attitudes; understatement and non-commitment had no meaning for young nationalists. Arab students had a great reverence for their teacher, who was father and mother, guardian and friend. They expected to be taught the truth and were ready to accept teaching without any critical assessment of true or false arguments. The English university tradition of objectivity was quite alien to their way of thinking. This naturally exposed them to Egyptian and Russian propaganda, and also put a great responsibility on the teacher. The English teacher therefore had a great opportunity for witness simply by the standards he set himself.

Miss Oliver explained that to the Arabs religion was identifiable with nationality. They assumed that the English were Christians, as Iraqis were Moslems, and expected different and higher standards of behaviour

from the English (Christians). They were also acute judges of character. If an Iraqi became a Christian he expected to be treated like an Englishman by the English. If he were not, the more acute was his disappointment, for it was like losing his nationality.

There were no mosques or religious teaching in schools and it was fashionable to express atheistic opinions and neglect worship. The students' ideas of what was progressive and Western was further distorted by the lurid Egyptian and American films shown in the Baghdad cinemas. There were few Iraqi converts to Christianity, but there were a number of Iraqi Christians of the ancient Eastern Churches, some monasteries in the north dating back to the time of Julian the Apostate (4th century).

The Rev. V. K. Johnson, Principal of the Tyndale Biscoe School, Srinagar, Kashmir, then described how this school of 800 boys was founded on the two principles of the English public school system and the Boy Scout movement. It had virtually made Kashmir. All the cabinet ministers, whether in or out of jail, were old boys and no leading family could stand the disgrace of having a boy expelled. Great emphasis was placed on cleanliness (there being a daily inspection), diet, the competitive spirit, sport (especially swimming in the River Jhelum), camping, compulsory school activities, and the same rules for all regardless of religion or race. He explained how Kashmir was militarily occupied and was the cockpit of Asia, having frontiers with India, Pakistan, Tibet, China and Afghanistan. This situation was politically dangerous and sometimes made relationships with parents and old boys difficult, but politics could be, and were, ignored at school. The people were nearly all Moslems, and mothers had the greatest influence, which they intended to keep. For this reason 'Tyndale Biscoe' was a day school.

The discussion of these two lectures touched on the attitude of the Christian teacher abroad to nationalism, and on the contrast between secular (Iraqi and India) and materialist (Soviet Union) states. The chairman thought young people remembered that part of school work, including religious instruction, that had a bearing on their daily lives. In his experience, religious instruction tended to lose its bearing among adolescents, and it was necessary for the Christian teacher to adjust his approach to this age group accordingly. Another teacher pointed out that the treatment of religious topics had been dropped in Russian schools, because atheistic teaching had stimulated interest in Christianity. Such topics were now dealt with at the Palaces of Culture, after school hours. The Chairman corroborated this, adding that to judge from visits he had paid to the Soviet Union since the war, people were returning to the

Church later in life, realising that communism did not answer all their needs. The apparent lack of interest in religion among young people in Britain and overseas should not be exaggerated. Other teachers thought it equally important not to overrate sport as a character-forming medium, and to bear in mind the epigram about 'putting the mind of a prig into the body of a barbarian'. I was struck by what seemed to me the somewhat fatalistic approach of the Asian teachers in the discussion of communism and nationalism, and wondered what brand of Christianity was developing there—contemplative perhaps?

On the third day, the conference considered the Christian teacher's work. Mr. C. R. Hensman, from Ceylon, now on the staff of the Overseas Council, spoke on Christianity and the syllabus. He said that the syllabus was an agenda for the teacher as well as the pupil. Did the use of the syllabus become different if the teacher were a Christian?

At first, there were three aspects of Christian education: the cognitive, or presenting the facts in a Christian light; the aesthetic, or eliciting feelings for beauty and true values; the moral, or a schooling in notions of what was just and decent. The integrity of education was constantly threatened by the non-Christian environment with false values of society, and the Christian teacher had to be on guard himself.

Later, children should be made aware of the existence of other people with other values, and learn tolerance. It was the barbarian who despised or condemned those different from himself, and it was part of Christian education to learn to recognize differences and evaluate them. In short, the Christian teacher should use the syllabus to open minds, not to close them. It provided an opportunity for the Christian to test the integrity of his own witness.

Mr. Harry Blamires, of King Alfred's Training College, Winchester, and author of *The Kirkbride Conversations*, speaking on Christianity and the teacher, said that the word Christian was too often used loosely. If we were not thinking specifically of a teacher of the Christian faith, was a Christian teacher any different from a Christian dentist or a Christian postman? In other words, did his faith affect his work professionally? He was not merely thinking of preaching to the converted either. Here Mr. Blamires told the story of the first visit of the American diplomat, Mrs. Claire Booth Luce, to the Vatican. The length of the audience broke several records, and the Papal officials became somewhat agitated. At length the doors opened, and His Holiness was heard complaining, "But, Mrs. Luce, I am a Catholic."

Was a Christian teacher necessarily different from a

pagan teacher? Mr. Blamires gave a definite 'yes' to this question, because the Christian's conception of education was different. It was a process of humanizing, of nurturing human beings to a fully human life, and took account of the origin, duty and destiny of man. The Christian teacher always had the dual view, of this world and of the eternal, with God's purpose the framework of his teaching.

Tension would arise, because education was orientated towards this world, and the Christian teacher could not escape it by adding irrelevant ethical teaching or doctrine to the syllabus. He had to see this world as God's world, and let his philosophy affect everything he taught, illuminating the spiritual parts of the syllabus and of history. He realised there were inconsistencies in the present position of the Christian teacher, but it was tolerable because the non-Christian environment was unorganised.

It was interesting to hear how far teachers thought television part of this environment. On balance their opinions were favourable. Indeed some thought it was, or could be, the best of visual aids: there was little to beat a pupil's saying, "Oh yes, I saw that on the telly last week," as an introduction to a geography or nature study lesson. Children's viewing kept teachers on their toes, especially if they had no set themselves. Now that the novelty was wearing off, viewing was becoming more selective, although much depended on the home background.

On the last day, the Rev. J. W. Packer, Headmaster of the Canon Slade Grammar School, Bolton, led a discussion on the religious possibilities of the classroom—and beyond. After reminding us that the teacher had considerable authority, and was in many cases trusted more than the parents were, he referred to the problem of communication. Children expected to learn a technical vocabulary for chemistry or mathematics, and the uninitiated were often at sea. Was it possible to teach religion without technical words? Words like grace, sin, love, were technical. Pupils would only despise a subject which did not appear to be taken seriously by the school or teacher.

Mr. Packer then asked the conference to consider the increasing number of children studying the sciences. The Northern Universities Joint Board examination figures now showed a predominance of science and mathematics candidates at the G.C.E. advanced level. Most of the sciences, even biology, depended on mathematics, and mathematics dealt with infinity and eternity. The Christian teacher saw the application of scientific laws in experiments as a participation in the divine order, and the production of energy as a divine act. He thought a place should be found in the Church for

ordained scientists, who regarded their disciplines as God-given gifts. The opportunities for the Christian teacher in the sciences were no less than those in history and literature.

Religious instruction should be given its true status as well, not by extra time, but by being treated like other subjects with preparation and examination. In this subject particularly, the teacher could learn with the pupil and develop himself. Sometimes the pupil would outstrip the teacher, which was a real joy. A mixture of ancient history and set-book would not in itself raise the status of religious instruction, however, and pupils should be taught how and why Jesus prayed, for example, and given quiet time and a prayer pattern. The scientific outlook could also lead to pantheism, but it was the task of the Christian teacher to follow up such cases.

The discussion on the trend from the humanities to

the sciences that followed—the recent Crowther report on the education of the adolescent in England even coined a new word ‘innumerate,’ to describe a person who had no aptitude for, or knowledge of, science and mathematics—had several implications for education in Africa. Which was going to be the greater problem—illiteracy or innumeracy?

Fittingly, our conference was rounded off by a conducted tour of Lincoln Cathedral. This triumph of architecture in honey-coloured Lincoln limestone and Purbeck marble has an unrivalled setting, mounted on its hill above the flat landscape. The view of its west front from the observatory tower of the nearby Castle is one that stays in the mind's eye, and helps to recall four stimulating days.

D. G. SMITH.

Maseru.

Years of Expansion at Fort Hare (1920-1926)—1

THE character of a College depends partly upon the direction given to its undertakings by its Council, much upon the eagerness of the students to profit by what the College has to offer, and by no means least upon the loyalty and devotion of the staff. One element of this devoted loyalty is constancy. During the period immediately succeeding the first World War, say from 1920 to 1926, Fort Hare received accessions of teaching staff who were destined to give from 22 to 34 years service to the College, and were to be in great measure the agents responsible for carrying the College successfully through the difficult transition from a secondary school to a University College, a process that extended over 15 or 16 years. I have already written of two of those pioneer Professor Jabavu and Mr. Germond, and some account must now be given of three who joined the staff after 1920, and in due course became Professors: W. T. Murdock, C. P. Dent, and D. J. Darlow. These gave 24, 34, and 22 years' service respectively. Their coming coincided with the abandonment of the rather crab-like method of progression that had been obligatory in the first years, for Murdock was the first instructor who had the care of one discipline only, Mathematics; followed by Dent, Physical Science (later Chemistry); and Darlow, English. Others of us who were earlier had to be like some Cabinet Ministers, responsible for more than one department. Those I have named were not only accomplished scholars in their own lines, but, what was of even more importance for our students, artists in the communication of knowledge.

And first of William Thompson Murdock, six feet four inches in height, and broad in proportion, furnished with a ‘brogue’ that proclaimed instantaneously

and indisputably his ‘country of origin.’ An honours graduate of the Royal University of Ireland and an alumnus of Queens College, Belfast, he had had a considerable and varied experience of teaching in other schools and colleges before coming to Fort Hare. For short spells he had taught in Ireland, Germany, West Indies, Egypt and Rhodesia. When, in answer to our advertisement, he applied for the post of lecturer in Mathematics at Fort Hare, he had taught for four years in the Diocesan College, Cape Town. He was interviewed and some distinctive features of the Fort Hare post explained to him, including the fact that it was a non-European College, was a Christian foundation, residential, and that staff members were expected to interest themselves in the out-of-class activities of the students, such as the usual student societies, literary and debating, Students' Christian Association, sports, College Assembly for Prayers each morning, plus an extended Assembly one day per week which was addressed by staff members in turn. This last rather appalled the applicant so that further mention of the Sunday Evening Service, in which the Reverends the Wardens welcomed the assistance of the lay members of the staff, was hastily departed from! After all, we were well supplied with preachers at Fort Hare but were desperately in need of a man to teach mathematics! At the same interview it was learned that there was in the wind a purpose of marriage with an Irish lady, which might be assisted by our providing a house, to which the College was not averse in the hope that it might prove “Journey's End” to one who, till then, might have been described as a peripatetic mathematician! The prescription was effective, and until retirement under the age-limit caught

up on them, the Murdock family, with its four charming girls, each with four Irish Christian names, brightened our small community with its wit of its own part, and sometimes, all unconscious, was a source of quiet humour to the rest of us.

In those days there was a theory current that there were certain academic subjects for which the Bantu seemed to have special aptitude, and others for which it was alleged they had little or none. Mathematics fell into the second class. Facility in linguistic studies they certainly seemed to have, but this was popularly ascribed to the 'rote-memory' they were suspected of possessing — 'parrot-learning' was the less creditable but more usual term. The Bantu do indeed shine as linguists, like other South Africans of all colours who in the course of daily business find it necessary to switch from English to Afrikaans, or Xhosa, or Zulu, or Sotho, and do so without conscious effort. It was not unusual even in the early days to find Bantu students at home in two Bantu languages, and with an average command of at least one European language, generally English. As often happens, the mastery of the written form was less complete than that of ordinary speech, but both were none the less remarkably successful in conveying meaning, though not always exactly idiomatically. There may be a doubt as to the extent of the distribution of pure, mathematical ability in any population, but, in its more elementary forms at least, it would appear to be dependent upon the correct introduction of the pupil to the subject by the teacher. In the special case of the Bantu a retarding factor may be his cumbrous nomenclature of numbers, which is said to be causing difficulty today when a too rigid application of mother-tongue theory is insisted upon. But that Bantu students as a class had any innate disability in learning Mathematics at the stage required in the schools, Professor Murdock demonstrated consistently over many years to be a popular fallacy. To none was this more obvious than to the Bantu themselves, and to all who could read the signs, was clearly demonstrated when, at the end of his career of 24 years, the retiring professor was able to recommend one of his own students to succeed him in charge of his department.

One main characteristic of Murdock's method was thoroughness. Neat in everything he did, punctilious in all that related to his work, (in time, preparation, correction, in exacting exercises) he gave a fine training to all who passed through his classroom. The option of taking his class was at the will of the student, unless he had some objective in view for which a knowledge of mathematics was necessary when it was compulsory. But if a student elected to take the class, he had to measure up to the tale of work exacted or find some other

study for which he imagined he had more affinity! This meant that 'passengers' in the classes were few and that the requisite amount of time had to be expended by students in preparation, sometimes to the detriment of other studies. For those overtaken by pressure of work, or less excusable avocations, and unable to return their "riders" in time, there was a large stone on the verandah of the Professor's house, under which belated exercises might be placed and laggards in this way escape the guillotine. This might be regarded as a symbol of mercy which tempered justice, but it also removed any vestige of excuse from the delinquent who had either to comply or quit.

Yet one gathered from stray indications that it was no reign of terror that prevailed amongst the select mathematicians, and that the Irish humour often lit up the scene to the hilarious enjoyment of all, except perhaps the one who provided the occasion of it. Some students regarded this notice as a decoration, and in after life have been known to relate Murdock's sallies against themselves, much as Kipling records those of King in "Stalky and Co." There was in fact no more popular lecturer in the College.

In spite of his aversion for public speaking which I have indicated, in regard to anything in the line of duty Murdock took his turn, as for example in speaking to the whole College at the Weekly Assembly, when it was the custom to treat of any topic that might be interesting or informative. As Murdock's turn came round there was generally an air of student expectancy and it was sufficient for him to look down his Wellingtonian nose at the audience and flourish the metre stick impounded to do duty as a pointer, to raise their expectation to concert pitch. On these occasions we learned a deal about St. Patrick and other Irish worthies, or the talk would be a fascinating play with number, but sometimes it was a sub-acidulous dissertation on public affairs, or College politics or *mores*. Colleagues even were not immune from stray shafts which punctured misplaced idealism or brought down orators attempting to soar too far into the empyrean. In an international society such as ours there was room for national as well as personal quips as when the Scots, of whom we had a few, were described as "that nation which requires two quids for every *quo*."

Without idealistic pretension of any sort and humorously intolerant of it wherever it showed itself, Murdock was yet one of the most generous, straightest and most just of men. He was highly appreciated as a teacher and was a delightful colleague. All of us, staff as well as students, under his eye got much closer to reality, became much less prone to ballooning than perhaps we naturally were. In spite of the high seriousness of what

we regarded as our mission, we had plenty of opportunity to laugh at ourselves, and in our midst there was

more than one who like Murdock helped us to keep our feet on Mother Earth. ALEXANDER KERR.

There has been Violence in the Land

(A sermon preached on Easter Sunday evening by the President of the Methodist Conference, Dr. Leslie A. Hewson.)

"Dost thou sojourn alone in Jerusalem, and knowest not the things which are come to pass there in these days?"

"And he said unto them, What things? And they said, The things concerning Jesus of Nazareth." (Luke. 24: 18, 19 RVm)

I. ON the evening of the first Easter day those two disciples were walking towards the setting sun. Their talk was about the events of the previous week; and they could not understand why it should all have happened to Jesus of Nazareth. Then came the strange encounter that changed everything for them. "He interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself." Faces that were darkened with grief now shone with joy; minds that were heavy with gloom began to glow with hope; and hearts chilled with disillusionment burned within them, as the Man of the Emmaus road gave a new meaning to what had happened to Jesus of Nazareth.

What had happened to Jesus of Nazareth? The chief priests had delivered him up; the rulers had condemned him to death; and the arm of the law had crucified him. These events are known to Christians as the Judgment and the Passion, or sufferings, of Jesus. The other event of Holy Week—the Resurrection—was at first nothing more than a perplexing hearsay report: women at dawn...a vision of angels...an empty tomb...but Jesus was nowhere to be found.

Those things happened long ago, in a far-away country. What have the things concerning Jesus of Nazareth to do with us in South Africa in 1960? Much in every way, as soon as we come to know who Jesus of Nazareth really is. His chosen title for himself was Son of Man, and whatever else those strange words mean, they do mean that he wedded himself to the human race for better or for worse, for richer or for poorer, and even death does not part us from him. In Him, God and man became one flesh, and therefore everything that has to do with human beings is God's concern. What have the events of the past weeks to do with Jesus Christ? Let him give the answer in his own words: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

II. We in South Africa have come to know the Passion, or sufferings of a people; we are now bearing the Judgment

on a people; and we are deeply disturbed and bewildered at what has happened to us.

There has been violence in the land. Until that is accepted as fact, those who ask what is happening out here will not be able to understand. Public buildings, including schools and churches have been burned; property has been destroyed; the lives of the law abiding have been threatened. Again and again there has been an outbreak of violence that has taken innocent lives, and what is even worse, the lives of some who were completely devoted to the care of the people at whose hands they met their death. A week ago, this violence reached its peak in the murderous attempt to assassinate the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd.

There has been violence in the land; but the question we can no longer evade is this: Why has it mounted so terribly over the course of the last weeks and months?

It is the duty of the police to quell violence, and to restore law and order; and all who wish the true welfare of this land know that it must be so. But here are other questions we can no longer evade: Why has the cost of quelling violence become so high in the loss of human lives? Why has the cost of keeping order meant so much loss to so many—loss of property, loss of freedom, and loss of human dignity?

There must be law and order; but why has it come to pass that it can now be maintained only by the powers granted in a State of Emergency?

If these things, such violence, and such quelling force, had happened in the jungle, it would not disturb or bewilder us. But whenever things like this happen—and we know they have happened elsewhere, in Hungary, in Algiers, in Kenya as well as in South Africa—we are dismayed that they should happen among people who have the whole heritage of Civilization and of Christianity available to them. In all these events we encounter Jesus Christ, who set a standard for human behaviour and for Christian conduct: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

We must be brave enough and honest enough to find out why these things have happened, and then we must be resolute enough to put them right.

III. Following upon these sufferings of people in South Africa, there has come Judgment; and we have been appalled at the storm that has raged about us from all corners of the earth. Some of the condemnation has seemed to us unjust—a false simplification of compli-

cated facts, that shows the very marks of group thinking for which we ourselves have been condemned. It is indeed true that this is not an auspicious season for our Springbok Cricket Team to visit England ; but to hold them responsible for the present afflictions of South Africa shows very little justice. It shows even less of the spirit of One Who was content to be called the friend of sinners.

Further, because we have searched our own hearts, and are ashamed at what we have found there, we know that self-righteous rage can very easily be mistaken for righteous anger ; and we are sadly aware that a man is in grave moral peril if he enjoys his anger, and revels in his rage. We have sensed something of this in the violence of the condemnation heaped upon us.

Saddest of all, in Holy Week, we have heard in South Africa itself charge and counter-charge between Christian leaders, that holds no promise of working a change of heart and mind, and that has widened the breaches in this land already cursed by deep rifts of separation.

But when every allowance has been made for whatever may be unjust or immoral in the storm of judgment that has descended upon us, we must face the condemnation that cannot be dismissed, there are three reasons why we cannot ignore it or dismiss it. The first is this. So much of it comes, not from our enemies, but from the leaders of our own kinsfolk overseas—those who in the councils of the nations have consistently stood by us and pleaded for a patient understanding of our problems. This is not the reviling of enemies but the rebuke of those who have proved themselves friends.

The second reason why we cannot dismiss the condemnation entirely is this. When the attempt was made upon the life of the Prime Minister there came immediate condemnation of that dreadful act of violence. And we have accepted every word of *that* condemnation at its full value. We must face the fact that it was at the same time, and from the same places, and from the same people that the words of weighty rebuke have come. How then can we honestly reject them or ignore them ?

And the third reason is this : For the last ten years, with increasing urgency there have been sons of our own soil who have shared with us their deep concern at the shape of things to come for us if we did not change our ways. I am the more impressed because those who have spoken with the deepest concern and the widest compassion for all sections of our people have been spokesmen from the Afrikaner *volk*, and faithful sons of the Dutch Reformed Church : Dr. B. B. Keet, Dr. Ben Marais, Professor P. V. Pistorius, and ex-Chief Justice Henry Fagan.

If this condemnation had come only from countries ruled by dictators who have rejected the Christian Faith,

we might well ignore it. But it has come from the leading statesmen, and from responsible writers in the very countries that have bequeathed to us the heritage of Civilization and of Christianity. In their judgment we recognise the two commandments upon which hang all the law and the prophets : Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and soul, and mind and strength. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

IV. These are the things concerning Jesus Christ—suffering and judgment—of which the disciples spoke at that encounter on the first Easter Day. They spoke as those disturbed and bewildered, because they could make no meaning out of these events. It all seemed so senseless an end to so splendid a hope : “ We hoped that it was he which should redeem Israel.”

Out of that encounter there came two creative things. The first was a new meaning for life with all its tragedy, its suffering and its judgment. “ *Ought* not Christ to have suffered these things and to enter into his glory ? ” And the second thing was a new power to work out this new meaning of life.

Is it possible that there is a destiny in these things that have happened in South Africa—that having suffered these things, we may enter into a glory ? That amazing, that glorious possibility is the very meaning of the Easter encounter. If we truly repent of our sins as a people and our sins as individuals, race relationships could be entirely transformed in South Africa.

Every section of our people has sins for which each should repent. These are among our sins as a ruling people : our greed for power and our racial pride ; our denial to others of the right to fit themselves for privileges which we enjoy ; our breaking up of a way of life, and withholding the best we have to put in its place ; our arrogant assumption that we know best and others must obey.

These are amongst our sins as individuals : the contempt in our eyes, the wounding in our words, and the hurt in our actions ; our indifference to the sufferings and wrongs of others ; our failure to love our neighbour which proves our lack of the love of God.

It is a hard thing for us to take the path of penitence ! but that is where we shall find the second creative thing in the Easter Encounter. There we shall find what the New Testament calls ‘ the power of an indissoluble life.’ “ Jesus himself drew near, but their eyes were holden that they should not know him.” Is the Resurrection for you only a perplexing hearsay report ? If so, you will not recognise who it is that has been speaking in the events of these days. For the Easter Encounter is encounter with the Risen Lord, stronger than death, mightier than hell with all its powers.

Here then are the two alternatives, and the time to

make our choice is short. If we reject the Easter Christ with his call to penitence, and his offer of power, we have no effective answer to riotous violence, the rule of force, the condemnation of a hostile world and of our own conscience.

If, however we trust and obey the Risen Christ, we shall find a new meaning for our common life that will make it worth all the suffering and all the struggle. We shall receive power to build anew a community free from hate and free from fear, because reconciliation has become a real thing.

"Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you!"

Let us pray ;

"O God of earth and altar,

Bow down and hear our cry ;

Tie in a living tether

The prince and priest and thrall ;

Bind all our lives together

Smite us and save us all ;

In ire and exultation,

Aflame with faith, and free,

Lift up a living nation,

A single sword to Thee."

Amen.

Our Economy in Jeopardy

STATEMENT PUT FORWARD BY THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

IT was resolved in February, 1960, that the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa should prepare a document clearly setting out the Association's views in regard to some of the causes that have brought about a slowing down of the expansion of the Union's economy. Recent events have lent added cogency to this undertaking.

The economy of the country is in jeopardy and it behoves the Association, as an organisation of businessmen who are concerned about the continued prosperity of the enterprises under their control, to let its voice be heard at this time of widespread reassessment of the economic aspects of the race policies which have contributed towards the present crisis.

The change of policy that is needed if it is to be a lasting success in years to come, must allow and encourage all the people of South Africa to make the maximum contribution to the economy of which they are individually capable. By no other means can an expanding economy be achieved and a rising standard of living for all races be ensured.

Frustration has motivated the unrest to which the Union has been subjected. It is essential to obtain greater co-operation among all people in South Africa, white and non-white, in the advancement of the Union's economy. There should be imparted to the non-whites a sense of inclusion in the shaping of the Union's future in the wider aspects envisaged in this memorandum.

OBSERVATIONS

The following observations are accordingly made :

The continued development of secondary industry will depend first of all upon the enlargement of the market. There are two ways in which this could be achieved—firstly, by increasing the volume of our exports, and secondly by increasing domestic consumption.

As far as export markets are concerned, it will be difficult to develop these markets sufficiently rapidly to take up the increased volume of production that must be achieved in the Union. Export markets absorb today not much more than £100 million of manufactured goods sent out from the Union, which is under 10 per cent of the gross value of manufacturing output (the latter figure stood at £1,175 million in the year 1957/58).

Thus even a very considerable increase in the volume of exports would not afford the major expansion in our market that is needed. In addition, the development of Union exports to African markets presents real difficulties, in that the Union is not more advantageously placed to supply most of Africa than are the industrial countries of Europe with their more highly developed economies.

DEVELOPMENT

Some of the African territories have associations with the countries of the European Economic Community, which is likely to place certain European countries in a more favourable position to supply such territories than is the Union. What is more, industrial development is proceeding apace in the Federation of Rhodesia.

Expansion in Union industrial output must therefore be based mainly upon enlargement of the domestic market. Countries with economies roughly comparable to the Union's, such as Australia and Canada, have to some extent achieved this by enlarging their consuming population through massive immigration. In the Union, however, an important section of the population is under-employed.

Our task therefore is to develop this section of the population and expand its consuming ability. But to expand its consuming ability it is essential to increase its productive powers. To help achieve this purpose large-scale State-aided immigration will be necessary in order to provide both skills and enterprise—skills which will

assist in maintaining a suitable proportion of skilled to unskilled labour, and enterprise which will create employment and achieve expanded production of goods and services.

There are certain areas in the Union which are virtually untouched by modern economic development. These regions are the present Native reserves. In these areas large numbers of people are engaged in comparatively primitive forms of agriculture, and, to use the Viljoen Commission's phrase, marginal productivity may be zero. Manufacturing activity in these areas is almost non-existent.

It is in these areas that development should begin, and the Tomlinson Commission has made recommendations as to the steps necessary to improve the agricultural productivity of the Bantu areas. According to the Tomlinson Commission, these recommendations would involve the finding of some 300,000 jobs for families displaced from the land.

URBAN AREAS

Work must be found for these persons in secondary and tertiary economic activities. Many of the jobs would have to be found in industrial and commercial establishments in the large urban areas, although the development along sound lines of decentralised industry in Platteland towns (as suggested by the Viljoen Commission) and in the Bantu areas themselves would take up a proportion of these persons.

It is essential that the Bantu areas should be immediately developed, industrially and otherwise, as an integral part of the economy of the Union as a whole. From this it follows that persons of any race should be encouraged to conduct economic operations in the Bantu areas. The development of the Bantu areas as an integral part of the Union implies their treatment on the same basis as any other part of the Union.

Government investment in the Bantu areas should include, as in the Union as a whole, the supply of those basic services which are essential to the proper functioning of private enterprise. Naturally, the comparatively undeveloped state of the Bantu areas at the present time will necessitate a greater concentration of government investment in those areas for some time to come.

Restrictions imposed upon the occupation of property for business or other economic purposes on racial grounds in any area of the Union should be progressively relaxed. Freedom to conduct economic enterprises should ultimately be available to all citizens of South Africa. The full benefits of free enterprise will be obtained only when a free market is allowed to determine where and how capital and skills should be employed.

Natives should be permitted to acquire freehold titles

in urban Native townships. Apart from enabling the Bantu to borrow money on the security of land for the establishment of economic enterprises in Native townships, this step would encourage pride in the ownership and ever-better equipment of homes, which would be a marked stimulant to consumption and the expansion of the market.

The expansion of the market as the result of the increased prosperity of the Bantu areas will considerably increase the demand for industrial labour of all categories. In South Africa a large proportion of the new industrial workers required will be provided by the persons displaced in the agricultural development in the Bantu areas. The expansion of secondary and tertiary industries and the development of the Bantu areas will be complementary processes.

NO BARRIERS

If the full benefit of this process is to be obtained then no barriers must be placed in the way of persons of any race utilising present skills or acquiring and employing new ones.

In order to enable non-whites to qualify for apprenticeship for skilled trades, increased amounts should be spent on providing general and vocational educational facilities for them.

Any attempt to allocate functions on a racial basis must militate against economic progress.

Industrial progress requires considerable mobility of labour so that entrepreneurs should have access to new sources of manpower.

Whilst complete freedom of movement may not be practicable in existing South African conditions, the trend should be in the direction of progressively relaxing restrictions to the utmost extent possible.

There is considerable poverty in the urban areas today because in many cases the wage paid is low, and it is therefore necessary to consider by what means the earnings of labourers could be increased. The three methods available are :

- i. Government action ;
- ii. Voluntary steps on the part of employers ; and
- iii. Collective bargaining.

Government action has not been sufficient because it has been slow and cumbersome in operation.

Voluntary action on the part of employers has been a powerful force in improving Native wages over the last three years, and can continue to play an important role until Natives are allowed to enter trade unions.

It is believed, however, that collective bargaining is an essential element in the ultimate achievement of an adequate level of wages.

These recommendations are put forward.

It is realised that these proposals will necessitate the

greatest degree of care, patience, and tolerance in their implementation.

The recommendations are:

- i. That the Union should be developed as a single economic entity;
- ii. That restrictions which prevent members of any race from conducting business operations in any part of the Union should be progressively relaxed with a view to their ultimate withdrawal;
- iii. That the work reservation provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act should be repealed;
- iv. That restrictions on the mobility of labour should be progressively relaxed;
- v. That trade unions should, with the effluxion of time and with suitable safeguards, become representative of workers of all races.

Our Readers' Views

The Editor, *The South African Outlook*.

Sir,—On p. 70 of the May issue there's a misprint on line 10. "Many wished.....should be "Mary wished.... Anyone with a knowledge of history would notice the error but many dont know Scots' history.

Yours sincerely,

D. W. SEMPLE.

(The misprint is much regretted we are grateful that it has been pointed out. It is minute in itself but makes a serious misstatement of fact. Ed.)

New Books

How Churches grow, by Donald Anderson McGavran, (World Dominion Press. 186 pp. 12/6.)

Here once more from the World Dominion Press has come a heart-searching, disquieting, provocative, stimulating book by a devoted missionary who is what all devoted missionaries are not able to be—a deep student of missionary foundations and strategy. It is well-timed in an era when under the stress of the winds which are abroad in the lands where the Christian mission is at work, there is a general and often anxious reconsideration of its basis and a frank overhauling of its strategy. Dr. McGavran has a most valuable contribution to make. In a brief introduction the veteran missionary statesman, Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, says "This is an excellent and much needed book.... This approach will, of course, evoke many new problems, but the emphasis on a more spontaneous, mobile way of mission is greatly needed."

It is hardly too much to say that this thorough and thoughtful study is a 'must' for missionaries and members of mission boards. It responds richly to a

casual reading, but is the kind of book which lends itself admirably to deeper study and, more especially, to group discussion. It is essentially practical and at the same time the spiritual emphasis is inescapable. The largest section of the book, the one dealing with 'General Factors' opens with a short chapter entitled 'Authentic Spiritual Fire,' which establishes the true perspective for all the others. The 'Central consideration' of the book is set out in these words:—

"In a world of hundreds of millions without Christ, how can the Churches and their assisting missions achieve adequate church growth? What makes churches grow? What makes them stop growing? What are assisting missions doing which promotes growth?... Are they doing anything which prevents it? How can the younger Churches use the massive resources of the older Churches for significant church multiplication? These questions are crucial for the world task of both the older and the younger Churches."

* * * *

The Forgiveness of Sins, by William Telfer, S.C.M. 12/6.

Dr. Telfer presents a brief and competent historical sketch of the development of the doctrine and practice of Forgiveness within the Christian Church from New Testament times. Clearly and straight-forwardly written it provides not only a most useful introduction to the history of discipline, confession and penance, but also an insight into the reasons for and the significance of the varied disciplines in use in the Church in different epochs and in varying historical contexts.

While it provides a sufficient survey for the ordinary student or pastor to give him an understanding of pre-Reformation, Reformation and Counter Reformation practice it needs supplementing in two respects: first there is need for consideration not only of the value and importance of the secret discipline of Confession for the individual Christian, but also of the problem set by the need for an effective open discipline of the church manifesting publicly today that the Christian Church has a moral standard. Secondly there is needed as a companion volume some such study as Max Thurian's "Confession" previously reviewed in these pages.

What has already been given us here however is a vitally necessary preliminary study which ought not to be neglected.

N.B.

All political news and comment in this issue are contributed and written to express the views of the *South African Outlook* by O. Bull, Lovedale, C.P.